MEMPHIS APPEAL

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AEMPHIS APPEAL

FRIDAY, : AUGUST 2, 1878

THE ELECTION AND THE RESULT. We are neither susprised nor disappointed at the result of the election yesterday. The true men of the Democratic party made a gallant fight, but the tidal wave which swept Radicalism from Shelty county four years ago has flown backward, and the county is under the joint rule of the Radicals and the Nationals. The defeat of the Democratic party yesterday can be traced to the election for mayor last January. The four thousand men who faithfully stood by John Johnson the Democratic nominee for mayor through ridicule, slander and pecuniary loss, had no heart in the canvass, as their former zeal was chilled by the ingratitude with which their efforts to maintain the organization of their parts had been requited. The triumphant election of Mayor Frippin over the nominee of the Democratic party made bolting respectable, and every deserter to the National-Republi can banner justified his treachery by pointing to the numerous examples afforded at the election for mayor of Memphis in January. To prove that we were not surprised or disap- are read with great avidity. The distin-

election for mayor of Memphis: The organization of the party must be maintained If Flippin can bid defiance to the party that made him and secure an election by allying with the Radicals, the Democratic organization of Shelbs to the Radicals. Flippin's election will put an end to party organization in Shelby county.-Appeal,

we have only to republish the following ex-

A vote cast for John R. Flippin, on the seven teenth of January, is a vote to disorganize the Democracy of Shelby county, and to elect Radicals to office, by Flippin's aid, in the next August elections. -Appeal, December 27, 1877.

The question is, Shall the Democratic party com mit suicide to keep John R. Flippin in office? To indorse his treachers, by electing him mayor, will would be broken, and parly recreancy would comnand a premium, and the Radicals would again occupy the offices from which they were elected by the organized Democracy.-Appeal, December 28, 1877.

The treachery of Flippin disrupts the Democratic and when those Democrats who support him see that ne is bartering and trading with the Radicals, who will return to power in the election next August, they will be heartly ashamed of themselves, and bitterly repent their participation in any opposition to party Hippin, two years ago, when we did not even charge for the announcement of his name as a candidate. But we believe it is to the interest of the country, and especially of Memphis, to stand by the Democratic party, which has been the friend and liberator of the southern people; and we shall, therefore, support

Re-elect Flippin to this contest over the Demo cratic nominee and hereafter the office-holders of Shelby county will be the joint product of the Radily, will be detested by her friends who, in every election, place the seal of their condemnation upon all entangling alliances with those who have ruled and argument of Mr. Voorhees on this subject ruined the south, -Appeal, January 4, 1878.

ing a premium to deserters. It will sour and embit-ter the true men of the party, who will have no inconsecure un election by the Radical vote. The result would be the disorganization of the Democratic party, a multiplicity of candidates, and the election of a Radcot sheriff, a Radical clerk of the criminal court, and

in strict conformity to party law, should be defeated, party organization in Shelby county will nereafte office-seeker, like John R. Flippin, has to do to se care an election over the regular nominee is to prohis election is assured.—Appeal, January 9, 1878. A Democratic victory on Thursday secures a tri umph in August next. Defeat disorganizes the Dem The contest in Shelby county is close. There is but ittle difference in the voting strength of the Radicals and the Democrats, and If the fusion between Flippin and the Radicals, who are now his prom elessly lost to the Democratic party. In view of such a calamity, we appeal to Democrats by eve consideration of the public weal, and by the trad tional patriotism of the Democratic party and the oppressions of Rudicalism, to rally anew to the

APPEAL will derive no profit. We believe the prosperity of the country is bound up in the Democratic par s, and for no other reason have we insisted on the organization of the Democratic party. The Democratic convention that twice nominated Flip-

nd if it is to be divided in future elections, the Radarrett and Ed Shaw will reap the rewards for which they are now laboring. - Appeal. January 17, 1878. It remains to be seen what effect this defeat will we upon future elections. The APPKAL has stood the nomination made in conformity with the sages of the party, and has no regrets or apology of shake our devotion to the Democracy or to its ominees, but we fear in future elections the fight till be between a party and the scattered particles of what should be a party. At present the Democ acr of Memphis is unorganized, having an exist ence only in name and a future only in contingen abilities which will be developed by time alone. Appeal, January 18, 1878.

We could fill several columns of the Ar PEAL with similar extracts, predicting the defeat which occurred yesterday. We do not publish these extracts for the purpose of erimination or recrimination, but to point out to the Democracy of Shelby the rock upon which it was shipwrecked, so that they can avoid it in future elections. The Demo cratic party has passed through darker days than these. It has survived the blunders of many leaders, the hostility of many desertions and has always evinced a spirit of vitality that defies defeat. Pecuniarily the APPEAL loses nothing by the triumph of the Nationals,

for, after fighting the battles of Democratic viding and giving most of their patronage to apers that opposed their election for the purpose of conciliating them, and Radical-National office-holders can do no worse. The APPEAL is not an ephemeral campaign newspaper, supported by campaign funds and depending upon an election for subsidies. In ous crime of standing by the organization of its party. But this wrong and injustice and defeat of the party nomince, while it damp-

ened our zeal and destroyed all hope of suc-

cess in the election which closed so disas-

the county ticket a cordial support, and this we will continue to do in every contest between the Democracy and its enemies. HON. D. W. VOORHEES'S SPEECH. This distinguished statesman has opened the canvass in Indiana. He fires the first gun, and its roar is a harbinger of victory. We publish in full this morning Senator Voorhees's speech, delivered at South Bend, Indiana, on Saturday. It is seless for us to urge the readers of the APPEAL to give this masterly address a careful perusal, as all the utterances of the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash" pointed at the result of yesterday's election, guished Indianian never says anything unworthy of consideration upon any topic he nay choose to discuss in public. But in his morning, he excels all his former efforts. The senator took his seat in the United States logical powers of a high order. He has by every aspirant ready to accept office by appealing gained constantly in the estimation of the country, until his prominence as a debater, a statesman and a patriot; his mastery of the language, refined taste, enlarged culture, make him stand out as the most striking figure now in public life, towering head and shoulders above any other leader in the Democratic party. Much as he has heretofore achieved to win applause, or to fix public attention upon the resources and reach of his prolific mind, he has never surpassed his last wonderful effort. Beyond its compact and energetic force, incisive reasoning, clear statements and conclusive demonstra-

> of his own eloquence, he hurls at the Radical party his thunderbolts. The telegraph tells us that this great speech was received with unbounded enthusiasm and satisfaction, which undoubtedly prefigures the nature and the result of the great canvass upon which Mr. Voornees has entered. The southern pap-suckers and office-seekers have been sycophantic in their praise of Hayes. They insist that he has given home-rule and peace hood, and that he never uttered a word for freed every southern State in defiance of the

tones as clear and resonant, so characteristic

for, with less force and ability, we have made precisely the same points a thousand times since the inauguration of the bogus President, whose friends claim that he is the savior of the south. The exposure which Voorhees makes of Hayes's civil-service ireform will make the fraudulent President still more contemptible, if possible, in public estimation. Mr. Voorhees shows most conclusively the wisdom of the Potter investigation, and most triumphantly disposes of the Radical falsehoods about rebel claims and Mexicanization. He eloquently pleads for rehef to the suffering masses and for reform of the policy of the government in oppressing the laborer for the benefit of the capitalist. It will be seen that Mr. Voorhees is in full accord with the Democratic party on the money question. He seems te have studied the final question carefully and has reached sound conclusions. This speech will place the Indiana senator foremost among the leaders of the Democratic party. The west is proud of him, because he belongs to that section. The south loves him on account of his ardent, steadfast championship of her cause in the dark days of the reconstruction measures for which Hayes voted, and all sections esteem him for his great abilities, his lofty patriotism and his great activities, and the provided the season of the reconstruction measures for which the great activities and the provided the season of the reconstruction measures for which the great activities, his lofty patriotism and his great abilities, his lofty patriotism and live of the provided t for, with less force and ability, we have Flippin, as an Independent candidate, disrupts the made precisely the same points a thousand the for remaining faithful to party nominations. It is the savior of the south. The of Independents would spring up as candidates, and if possible, in public estimation. Mr. Voorcould point to the example of Flippin, his triumph the Potter investigation, and most trium-

his great abilities, his lofty patriotism and the nobility of his motives. NEW YORK, August 1 .- A Havana letter says the many emigrants returning penniless overnment, and difficult questions are rising etween persons who reclaim their former assessions and those who have old credits rainst them, or are the actual owners of the roperty. These questions will have to be ettled by tribunals, and will be an obstacle in the way of rapid reconstruction. It is deded that all government officers shall herefter be paid regularly, but at reduced rates, and the clergy will be invited to reduce their

allowances.

SPEECH OF DAN VOORHEES.

The Great Leader of the Western Democracy Makes the Best Speech of his Life, at South Bend, Indiana, and Furnishes

Texts for all the Campaigners in the Coming Canvasses-He Exposes the Hayes Administration, and Indorses the

Potter Investigation-Clear Cut Criticism of the Radical Party-Finances, Civil-Service Reform, Rebel Claims and Pensions Discussed.

SOUTH BEND, IND , July 27 .- The followlowing is the full text of the great speech de-livered here to-day by Senator Dan W. Voornecs, a speech that was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm, and is hailed as sounding the key-note of the coming canvass:

SENATOR VOORHEES'S SPEECH. The value of free discussion cannot be over rice value of free discussion cannot be over-sestimated. It is the vital element of human prog-ress and the lite of free government itself. The right of unlimited inquiry into the management of public affairs is not only necessary to the creation of free institutions, but also to their continued exist-ence. A government of the people, resting upon their virtue and intelligence, is only secure when the people themselves assert an absolute control over ople themselves assert an absolute control over elr own affairs. This was the problem solved by their own affairs. This was the problem solved by the American revolution a hundred years ago, and the American government stands alone at this time the nations of the earth on this principle. The value, however, of this great right depends mainly, if not entirely, on the spirit in which it is exercised. Partisan discussion too often degenerates into personal controversy. The success or defeat of individuals is of but small moment, while the triumph of correct principles and wise policies is of enduring importance. In the contest on which we are now just entering in Indiana, it shall be my purpose to subordinate all individual interests to an ascertainment of the public good and its establishment in our midst. In doing this it shall be my purpose to infilled no personal wound on any one; to treat the flict no personal wound on any one; to treat the opinions of my opponents with the same respect I ask for my own, and to appeal in the spirit of kindness to the honest and conscientious voters of all When we look plainly and candidly at the present

When we look plainly and candidly at the present position of political parties, we are at once forcibly struck with the fact that the party now in power in national affairs is totally destitute of a single issue in the interest of the great mass of the American people on which to go before them for their confidence and support. I ask your careful consideration of this proposition. In whatever direction you view the political field you find absolutely nothing offered by the leaders of the Republican party calculated to promote the public welfare. In a period of great debasement of the public service; in the midst of official scandals and debaucheries, connected both with the last and the present administration, and bowed down as the people are by the most appalling business distress ever known in a civilized commonwealth, I challenge the production of a single measure by those who now lead and control the Republican party which has in it the elements of popular relief. It is true when the present administration was placed in power lofty promises of purity and reform in the civil service of the government were proclaimed to the world. It appeared then to be the nurnose of Mr. Hasses and trously yesterday, did not prevent our giving appeared then to be the purpose of Mr. Hayes and his advisers to institute a contrast with the administration which had just expired. It was given out in formal official declaration that those who were capaged in the service of the government should not be the mere henchmen of the administration in power, but that they were to discharge their duties to the public on an independent and self-respecting basis. You all remember how the public ear was captivated by statements of this kind, that no man should be displaced as long as he honestly and efficiently discharged the duties of his position. You also have not forgotten the repeated announcements made by Mr. Hayes and his cabinet, that the odious and corrupt the repeated announcements made by Mr. Hayes and his cabinet, that the odious and corrupt practice of assessments, levied on government office-holders for the purp se of carrying elections, was thenceforfu to be utterly and intrely abandoned. The proposition, in substance, was that the offices of the government belonged to the people, and that while the duties in which alone the people are interested were faithfully performed, the incumbent should not be molested; nor should he, like a slave, be compelled to pay tribute to the party manager for his place; nor was he to be required or permitted to seize upon the control of local politics by by virtue of the influence of his office. How long, however, did this virtuous impulse last? In less than six months after its proclamation the old arts and devices of unscrupulous politicians were again in the ascendant. The Federal office-holder again resumed his practices. He was again chief of the caucus, of the ward meeting, and the controlling spirit of county and State conventions. The teachings of the administration were openly disregarded and despised, and it had not the courage of self-respect to make them heeded. Among the best officers, also, many were displaced, or sought to be displaced, without cause and in defiance of the rules laid down, while those who have violated every principle of the code of civil-ser ice reform have in no instance been punished or even rebuked. Worse than this, however, what do we next behold? The following circular has been issued at Washington, in the immediate presence of Mr. Hayes and his cabinet, and with their knowledge and consent, as it plainly states:

Washington, D. C. May 28, 1878.

ntribution.
This circular, after giving some false reasons to such an extraordinary measure, closes with the fol-lowing significant admonition:

Please make prompt and favorable response to this letter, and remit at once by draft or postal moner order to Sidney F. Austin, Esq., treasurer, etc. *

GEORGE C. GOZHAM, Secretary.

It has been ascertained that the amount being leviled upon Federal office-holders is in no instance not less than one per cent. of their salaries, and it oftener equals two per cent. There are now not less than eighty thousand persons holding office in the civil service of the United States, and it is very safe to assume that their salaries will average one thousand dollars per annum, making an aggregate of eighty million dollars. An assessment of one per cent. on this amount yields the enormous sum of eight hundred thousand dollars, to be used in the approaching elections. The mission of this money is to corrupt the ballot-box, to debauch, as far as possible, the virtue of the people, and to fasten on the country a policy contrary to the will of the majority. It is raised by extortion to be used in jobbery and bribery. A more dangerous movement than this can opposition of the fraudulent President. The

where is the high spirit of your once great organization? Has it sunk so low that it has no other means
to sustain itself, to continue in power, than to extort from the helpless and dependent of both sexes,
all ages, every color and every condition of life?
Fallen and miserable indeed must be its once high
estate when it is compelled to come before the pubilc with so disgraceful an issue; with its broken
pledges of civil-service reform, with its shameless
disregard of public morality, leaning for its sup
port, as it toiters to its downfail, on those who are
so unfortunate as to hold official place under it. I
arraign the leaders of the Republican party at the
very threshold of this canvass as the organizers of
corruption, the assessors of blackmail to be used in
destroying the purity of elections, and in the overthrow of the rights of the people. If their schemes
can be made successful and prevalent throughout
this country; if the policy of controlling elections
by the use of money, now openly proclaimed by the
party in power, shall receive no condemnation at the
hands of the people, then our institutions of free
government will perish, and our name will become
a hissing and a by-word in all the four quarters of
the globe.

honor and manliness of a conquered people of our own race and blood would be mit by a renewed and faithful allegiance to the government. The wisdom of our faith has been so fully exemplified, and has g own so strong in the public opinion of this and other countries, that a Republican administration. urfee into effice in hostility to it, has at last been reed to accept and to administer the govern-cent on its principles. The so-called sout ern pol-y of Mr. Hayes is simply a forced concession to the wer of a public opinion created by the courage and evotion of the Democratic party. When inducted to an office to which he was not elected by the peo i to an office to which he was not elected by the peo-ie, he placed himself upon a platform on which sither he nor his party had ever before stood. In ct, neither the office which he holds, nor the prin-ples on which he administers it in his dealings thin the south, belong to him or his party. He has spropriated them both without right. Indeed, the constant origin, and that the true this to it is the bemocratic origin, and that the true this to it is the bemocratic party. What Republican State convention has given it unqualified indorsement? When an indorsement has been attempted at all, as in the late Republican State convention of Indiana, it has been in a timid, half-hearted and distrustful manner. On the other hand such bold, strong men thas been in a tunid, half-hearted and distristful hanner. On the other hand such bold, strong men as Congling, Blaine, Cameron, and, Indeed, a large majority of the recognized leaders of the party, miss to opportunity to discialm for the Republican party in responsibility for the southern policy of the additional contraction.

THE POTTER INVESTIGATION.

In the midst of its widespread demoralization

In the midst of its wide-spread demoralization, however, a strange and violent attempt has recently been made to revive the waning fortunes of the Republican party by a sectional attack on the investigation now being made into the alleged frauds by which the present administration was placed in power. When this investigation was ordered by a Democratic house of representatives, a sort of hysterical scream burst out from the entire Republican press. To dispassionate ears, however, it sounded more like the cry of conscious guilt and fear of detection than of patriotic apprehension for the country. A new word was coined, prophetic of evil to our government. We were informed with oracular emphasis that our government was to be "Mexicanized." Mexicanized! Do those who have hurled this word into our political vocabulary have any conception of its real meaning and conception? From the conquest of Cortes to the present hour Mexico has been a land of revolution and lawless turbulence. One of the leading features of her history has been the usurpation of power by those who were not entitled to it. Fraud and violence have controlled her highthe leading features of her history has been the usurpation of power by those who were not entitled to it. Fraud and violence have controlled her highest official positions. The question there has not been who was elected president of the republic, but who had the means of chicanery or force to obtain the position. Lerdo was but yesterday driven from that place, and Diaz now holds it in violation of the Mexican constitution, and without the sanction of popular suffrage. But does the evil example of Mexico apply to the cenduct of a party which investigates fraud and seeks to ascertain the true expression of the popular will? Does it not rather apply with crushing force to that party which, having procured control of the government by the openly-confessed means of faise returns, now seeks to stific all inquiry on the subject? What party is on the plainest road to that had end? Is it the Democratic party, which aims to discover fraud, and to hold its criminal perpetrators up to public execration, or is it not in fact the kepublican party, whose leaders have descerated the bailot box and sapped the very foundations of popular government through the instrumentalities of the Andersons, the Webers, the M'Lins, the Dennises the Jeakses and that brazen gang now so conspicuous before the public? Webers, the M'Lins, the Dennises the Jeakses and that brazen gang now so conspicuous before the public? Who can be harmed by investigation? None but the guilty. Who dreads investigation? It is my experience that the innocent have no fears, while it is the experience of mankind that the guilty flee even when no one pursues. How much greater, then, must be their fear and flight when they are hotly pursued by the indignation of a free people burning with a sense of wrong! I do not wonder, therefore, at the notes of alarm which filled the land when it was proposed to sift this greatest political crime of the nineteenth century to the b thom. It was right that it should be done. When the electoral commission was created, the entire American people, with the It should be done. When the electoral commission was created, the entire American people, with the exception of a few leaders who were in the conspiracy, expected it to make a thorough investigation of the facts, and to ascertain who in reality was chosen President. Its refusal to perform this plain duty was President. Its refusal to perform this plain duty was a surprise and a disappointment to every honest man of every political party. The electoral commission decided the great question of the popular will in the choice of a chief imgistrate upon a meager, barren technicality. When it decided not to go behind the returns, it gave a legal title to Mr. Hayes, binding in law, but entitled to no more respect than the liberty which an offender in court obtains by religing on a flaw in the indictment rather than on a trial of the merits of his case. In view of this state of facts could the house of representatives do less than order an investigation? But further: The electoral commission had not only talled to do its duty in this regard, but in a brief space of time the instrument which was used in the great conspiracy to defeat the popular will began to reveal the whole plot. This was to be expected. Sherman, Mathews, Stoughton, Noyes and others who visited Louislana and Florida, are now undergoing the same fate which has always attended those who do unjuxful things. by the hands of others. History is simply repeating itself on this point. The tool of the conspirator is always swollen with a sense of his own importance by reason of the gulity secret which he shares with men of position and character. Sooner or later he seeks to make his secret a source of profit to himself, nor will be ever be satisfied. The result is invitable: he first threatens, and when those who are in his power find themselves unable to appease his constant and insat/ate demands he reveals everything, as if thereby he atoned for the original crime. Such is the philosophy of the course pursued by M'Lin and Dennis in Florida, and by Anderson and others in Louisiana. Nor is there anything new in the manner in which high officials at this time bear themselves toward those who are giving testimony against them. John Sherman and his associates are not the first who have drawn themselves up in well-affected disdain, and disclaimed all knowledge of the tools they once used and cast aside. Others before him have exclaimed to their former confederates who returned to plague them: "Avaunt, I know you not!" But when was the world—the great thinking, intelligent, world ever imposed on by such conduct? fore him have exclaimed L. their former confederates who returned to plague them: "Avaunt, I know you not!" But when was the world—the great thloking, intelligent, world ever imposed on by such conduct? Who is M'Lin. of Florida? Soon after the inauguration of Mr. Hayes he was appointed chier-justice of the great Territory of New Mexico. There are many future States in that Territory as large as Indiana. The influence of the administration of her laws reaches far into the future, and becomes a matter of the highest importance. This solemn duty was intrusted to Mr. M'Lin. Who will say that the President made so important an appointment in Ignorance of the character of the man he appointed? The senate, however, being properly advised, rejected the nomination. M'Lin waited for something else, but waited in valu. Doubtless it was thought the debt due him was paid. At any rate, whether from motives of revenge, or moved perhaps by a quickened conscience, he has told the story how by his own instrumentality, and that of others, a clear and distinct majority for Tilden and Hendricks in Florida was by perjury and forgery wiped

clear and distinct majority for Tilden and Hendricks in Florida was by perjury and forgers wiped out, and the electoral vote of that State given to Hayes and Wheeler. He cited the records of various precincts in corroboration of his statement. Then came a man by the name of Dennis. It appears that he has been an object of the tenderest care and solicitude on the part of the government. He held office and drew his salary without d'scharging a single duty for many months. Mr. Hayes himself personally recommended him to the secretary of the treasury as a first-class person for a position in the revenue department. He, too, however, guided by that law, vague and undefined though it may be, which sooner or later reveals wrong-doing, added his statement to that of M'Lin's. Anderson, in whose behalf senators, secretaries, collectors of customs and the President that of M'Lin's. Anderson, in whose behalf senators, secretaries, collectors of customs and the President himself were sorely anxious for more than a year, laid open the conspiracy by which a Democratic majority of between five and ten thousand in Louislana was obliterated, and a majority of between three and four thousand placed to the credit of Hayes and Wheeler. This state of affairs in Louislana and Whorlda was made known, and an investigation ordered by the house of representatives. Is there a man in In lana who says the house could have done less? It is asserted that this investigation may result in disturbing the title of the present occupant of the White House, My answer is plain and simple: By the forms of law he was inauguratad. He has a of the White House. My answer is plain and simple: By the forms of law he was inauguratad. He has a legal right without the equitable right. He will remain where he is to the end of the constitutional term, unless he should be removed by virtue of that provision of the constitution which has applied to every President from the foundation of the government. He is liable to impeachment, and to no other process for removal. If I am reminded that the President can only be impeached for acts while in office, my answer is that that is true, with this qualification: If it should be proven in this investigation, or any other, in reference to Mr. Hayes or any future President, that he was an accomplies in the commission of unlawful acts by which he procured his place, he would undoubtedly be liable to impeachment for such acts. In the present instance I do not apprehend such result, whatever the real facts may be.

nend such result, whatever the real facts may be. The great wrong will be redressed at the bailot-box. The investigation will emphasize the crime which has been committed against the American people, it will go into history as a warning to future times, and the fate of those who committed it will make it less likely to ever occur again. less likely to ever occur again.

THE COMPLICITY OF THE ADMINISTRATION WITH FRAUD.

There are some circumstances, it is true, that make it appear probable that Mr. Hayes shared with John Suerman and others a knowledge of the kind of services that were rendered him in Lou siana and Flor da. It is difficult to a count for the strange distribution of palronage on any other hypothesis. Of the sewho are implicated by the proof, and are stigmatized in the judgment of the world as participates in the frauds in Louisiana and Florida, scare by one has failed to receive rich rewards. The choicest places in honor and emoluments in the government have been bestowd upon, and are now epjoyed by, the principal actors in faisifying the votes of those two Stiles. John Sherman, the bosom friend of the President, heads the list of those who visited Louisiana. He was rewarded by the place of most power in the cabinet. He was made secretary of the treasury, and is now cursa hissing and a by-word in all the four quarters of the globe.

HAYES'S "SOUTHERN POLICY."

A claim is sometimes put forth in behalf of the present administration by a portion, at least, of the Republican party that it has what is known as a southern policy, which commends it to hir-minded.

Hayes another intimate friend of the present incumbent to those who changed the vote of that State. Mr. Noyes, for his services, was speedily appointed to the very high position of minister to France. Mr. Kasson, of Iowa, a co worker in Fiorida, was at the same time made minister to Spain. Governor Steams, who performed important services.

consibilities which attach to those who have sponsibilities which attach to those who have wrought the widespread roln and misery of the american people. This statement, however, of the New York Triburse was not necessary to those who have weigned the events of the last fitteen years with unbiased minds. Every law on the statute-pooks on the subject of the finances is the creation books on the subject of the manices is the creation of the Republican party. Let us be just and tair of this point and whatever there is to the credit of that party let it be awarded. We are sometimes remind of that the law creating the United States legal ten der note—the greenback dollar—is of Republicat origin. This is true, and yet it is a melancholy fact that when the greenback dollar had been used a fifty or extrement on the dollar, by cantallists to that when the greenback dollar had been used at fifty or cuty cents on the dollar, by capitalists, to load themselves up with government bonds, then a policy of hostility was at once proclaimed against this kind of money. As so,n as it was found that legal-tender notes constituted a chemp and safe money for the people, as dould no longer serve the purposes of relived, inactive, interest-drawing capital, they became an object of denunciation and proscription at the hands of those who brought them into existence. Democrats, on the other hand, who were in congress in 1862, and I among them, doubted the success of the new linancial policy then proclaimed. When, however, its beneficial features ame manifest, and it was discovered that som became manifest, and it was discovered that some progress had been made in the financial world; when we discovered that the system of United States legal-tender notes was especially adapted to the business wants and interests of the American peo-ple, we became their advocates and supporters. THE FINANCIAL ISSUE.

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE.

The spirit of hostility against the greenback currency having been once aroused by those who are interested in a return to specie payments through the process of contraction, bold and determined acts of oppression followed each other in rapid succession. While the Republican party held both branches of congress every measure demanded by the money power was enacted into a law without hestiation; solemn pledges made to the people were set aside; laws for the payment of a large portion of our public debt were repealed and others enacted, increasing the value of our bonds in the hands of their halders many millious of dollars; the burdens Increasing the value of our bonds in the hands of their holders many millions of dollars; the burdens of the tax payers were multiplied many fold, and their ability to meet their obligations diminished from year to year by the policy of contraction. On many of these points it is unnecessary for me to dwell in detail to-day. I have discussed them so recently in my place in the senate, and my views have been so generously received by the people of Indiana, that I am content to leave the principles of the cause as I have already declared them. There is a duty, however, which remains to be performed. I propose briefly to examine and compare the resords of the two great political parties on this vital and permanent question. I shall content myself with a permanent question. I shall content myself with a review of the legislation and the proposed legislation, of the present congress, taough a comparison of the work of the senate and house of the congress previous to this would not be without profit. I take my stand with the Democratic house of the ferty-fifth congress, and show that it was true to the cause of the people, while the Republican senate was not. Promptly, after the convening in October last, the house of representatives proceeded, as far as it was in their power, to undo the great evils of Republican legislation. The Republican party had placed a ban on the American silver dollar—had declared it to be no longer money—and had driven it from the uses of trade and commerce. This act, in itself, was an unparalleled outrage, and the manner in which it was accomplished added to the people's sense of wrong. The silver dollar had been demonstized secretly and surreptitiously for the purpose of diminishing and contracting the amount of money in circulation, cheapening properly and enhancing the value of the money which remained principally in the hands of capitalists. The Republican party had also enacted a law fixing a day when every debt in the United States should be payable, at the option of the creditor, in specie. With silver destroyed as money, gold became the basis of resumption. The specie basis being thus reduced to the narrowest possible compass, an additional argument was furnished for the wholesale contraction of our paper currency. These two measures had largely contributed to bring upon a plenteous land the evils of destitution, want of employment, vice and wretchcurrency. These two measures had largely contributed to bring upon a plenteous land the evils of destitution, want of employment, vice and wretchedness. They were at once grappled as monsters of evil by the house of representatives, and repealed. Bills to that effect were sent from the house to the senate during the early weeks of the session. If there are any here to day who have been in the habit of asserting that the two old parties occupy the same ground upon the financial question, I beg them to look candidis at the histor; of events. What action did the Republican senate take on these two measures of relief tendered by the house? It is true that after a protracted struggle and a memorable debate the bill for the restoration of the silver dollar was carried through that body by a distinct majority. I am not disposed to deny to Republican senators who supported it the credit which is their najority. I am not disposed to deny to Republican senators who supported it the credit which is their lue, nor shall I defend the course of the few Demo-cratic senators who opposed it. When the bill, how-wer, was presented for the signature of the Execu-tve, inspired and guided by that architect of ruin, John Sherman, and upheld by his entire cabinet, he eturned it with his veto, thus defying as powerful a public originous as was ever developed, on any open. returned it with his veto, thus derying as powerint a public opinion as was ever developed on any ques-tion in this c untry. An indorsement of the present administration is an indorse-ment of this act as well as of the gen-eral financial policy of Secretary Sherman. ion so often heard, that the worst is over; that the cottom has been reached, and there being no fur her depths of business calamity to fathom, we must necessarily be emerging into a better condition? If so, let me call his attention to the dismal bank upt record of the United States during the last shaunths. By the report of a well-known mercantile gency of New York we are furnished with the following instructive statement of facts:

BUSINESS DEPRESSION.

the second reading of a bill on the same day it is called up. As your representative, I pressed it until the last moment, and saw it expire with the close of

is not so, nor will it ever be, with the America cople. They will not worship at a cruel, heartles rrine. They will rather teach their children, an heir children's children, to execrate the authors of

nual drain on four of five States in the Mississippi valley of over thirty million dollars per annum. The mind recoils from the terrible results which must follow this condition of affairs. Ten per cent. Interest will as certainly bankrupt a farmer, a merchant, or a business man of any description, who is engaged in a legitim-te business, as fire will burn the dry stubble of the fields. The grasshoppers of the plains are not more destructive to every green and growing thing in their reach than ten per cent. Is to the life of business. The dwellers in Egypt could far belt rendure all the scourges seat upon them, locusts, lice, frogs, darkness and the plague, than the law ring, testiness people of the Mississippi valley can endure ten per cent. Interest on their deuts. It will suck their life-blood to the last drop, and leave them as tenants, paying rent to distant handlords, where they are now own ers in fee simple. I catnesdy believe and hope that these great and awful facts are sinking deep in every intelligent mind in the land. The seeds of financial reform have been sown broadcast, and they are springing up in every direction. I believe and hope that a work has been commenced which will not end until the government in its dealings with the people on the vital questions of finance and taxation, shall be once more a government of the people. And in this mighty movement where stands her Remublican party or Indiama at this hour? I rual drein on four of five States in the Mississipp people. And in this mighty movement where stands the Republican party or Indiana at this hour? I hold its platform of principles, adopted June 5th, in my hands. It is a mest extraordinary production. Its second deciaration is to the effect that the people have a high and sacred right to meet together and discuss their greenness. It is therefore a er and discuss their grievances. It is therefore as-lounding to find in the same document the follow-ing deliberately drawn proposition: "Opposition to further financial agitation; stabiliy in our financial system being essential to business

if in our mancial system being essential to ousiness prosperity."

It would appear from this platform that the people are to be permitted to discuss, compare views and resolve upon every subject beneath the sun except that which is of greater temporal importance than all others—the subject of tax stion, debt, food, clothing, and all that pertains to the domestic welfare of the human race. If the people have a grievance against their churches, they may discuss it; if they are dissatisfied with their school laws, they may debate them; if public improvements are proposed. they are dissatisfied with their school laws, they may debate them; if public improvements are proposed they may have as much controversy as they choose in relation to them; if public officials commit mal feasance, they may institute measures of reform, and cry aloud and spare not, but the doctrine of the Republican leaders in Indiana is that under no circumstances shall the people hereafter agitate the question of finance; that as things are, on that vital constitution of the must remain. Stability in our question of finance; that as things are, on that vital question, so they must remain, "stability in our financian system being essential to business prosperity," although that system may be an organized clime against nine-tenths of the entire population of the United States. Those who pay everything must not talk; those who toll from sun to sun to meet the burdens of their government must do it in silence. The drones in the hive are content; they are fiving on the honey gathered by the laboring bees, and their voice is heard in opposition to any inquiry into their right to live in idle luxury. It is not a new voice in the history of the world. It has been heard from the ramparts of oppression ever since human nistory was written. Wherever the tyrann, of privileged classes has intrenched itself a protest against agitation has always been heard. Agitation is the soul of liberty, equality and progress. It has marked soul of liberty, equality and progress—It has marked every step ever taken in the tide of human advance ment. When the Savior of men came upon earth ment. When the Savior of men came upon earth, he brought agitation as a purifying whirwind. He proclaimed a new right, a new dispensation, new thoughts, and a new impulse of progression to all the generations of mankind. The scribes, the Phanisees, the Saducees, the learned men of Israel, fixed in their traditions, crief out against this mighty agitator. They proclaimed him an incendiary, a teacher of sedition, a communist and a disturber of ancient systems of laws.

The pages or ancient history are also full of illustrations with which to embellish the Indiana Republican platform. When Charles I of England determined to govern without a parliament, and raise money by his royal prerogative, he encountered an agney by his royal prerogative, he encountered gliation as hateful to him as the financial actag agitation as hateful to him as the financial antagon-ism of this country is to an untaxed bondholder, or a money-tender at ten per cent, on mortgaged farms, Hampden and his associates, in their opposition to the payment of the ship money, were denounced by royalty and aristocracy as perideious demagragues, and held up to decision. The agitation, however, shook down the throne, laid a tyrant's head on the block, and engrafted on the government of England every principle of safety to the citizen which distin-guishes it from an absolute despottsm.

It was Edmund Burke who exclaimed: "I love clamor when there is an abuse. The alarm-bell dislamor when there is an abuse. The alarm-bell dis usbs the inhabitants, but saves them from being urnt in their beds." THE CONDICION TO WHICH REPUBLICAN LEG-ISLATION HAS BROUGHT THE COUNTRY. There was a period also in our own history whe

been attempted on this subject. Some who are honest but ignorant have lead themselves to this delusion, and others who know better have done the same. I have recently observed that it is nearly the entire stock in trade of Rep blican candidates in their opening speeches of the present convass. I am bound to believe that such gentlemen are entirely ignorant of the constitution of their country. It is more respectful to them to assume that they have not read the provisions of that great instrument than to supp se that they willfully misrepresent it for political ends. How is it possible for the congress of the United States to pay a single dollar for a loss of any kind incurred in aid of the rebellion? a loss of any kind incurred in aid of the rebellion?
Section four of the fourteenth amendment to the
Obsiliation reads as follows:

"The validity of the public debt of the United
States, authorized by law, including debts incurred
for payment of pensions and bountles for services
in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not
be questioned. But neither the United States nor
any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation
incurred in aid of insurrection or rebel lon against
the United States, nor any claim for the loss or
emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obli-There was a period clso in our own history when opposition to further agitation was the favorite cry of an active class of politicians who met with disactrous overthrow. The toiles of the American revolution did not believe in the agitation which followed the attempt of Great Britain to tax the colonies without representation. They resolved against it in almost the exact language of the Indiana Republican platform, and predicted that tragic events would follow if it was persisted in. Bunker Hill followed: Yorktown followed; the constitution, the stary flag and immortal glory followed. They were all born of agitation, and are the offspring of a prohibited in the strongest language from assuming or paying any claim of any description growing out of assistance to the rebedion. The first st-p required in presenting a claim before any depart ent of the government is to make proof that the claimant was loyal during the war. What kind of claims, therefore, are left for recognition and payment? Simply those of Union men, we ose properly was taken or destroyed by one or the other of the contending armites. This fact is well known by those who are loudest in their claimor of the subject of rebel claims. They know that every one of the sisbarred by the plainest and most powerful terms of the constitution. Am I told that this provision of the coast tution is in danger of being annualled; that another amendment is likely to take its place providing for the payment of said claims? Let us see what would have to be done to accomplish an undertaking of that character. In article 5 the constitution provides for 1 sown amendment in the following terms:

"The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments."

to have heard. When a whole falmity in one of our large cities was recently found dead from starvation some one embodied this voice of warning and o woe in the following lines:

"Oh, you paid and trusted leaders,
Listen, while you hold you breath;
In this land of bible readers
Men and women starve to death."

These leaders, however, have filled their ears, in with cotton in this instance, but with untaxed bon the dividends of national banks and the percents of vast loans on western farms, and they wrap the

duced, most of which were for the two tlems of cotton captured and public buildings, churches, etc., used and destroyed. None of these passed, and should never pass, for there would be no end to that sort of thing. But claims for provisions and materials taken from Union people should be paid to the last dollar. Of the whole aggregate of about ten million introduced, less than firly thousand got through, and these of a nature which should certainly take them out of the category of "rebel claims." An appropriation of about four hundred thousand dollars was made to pay claims awarded two years ago by the southern claim commission, but for which the last congress made no appropriation. These claims are mostly for small amounts, the average being but a few hundred dollars, and go to Union claimants, scattered about in nearly all tially into laws. I call the attention of the voters of Indiana to the bold, ringing utterances of that platform, and to the issues which spring up between it and the platform of the Republican party:

The Democracy of the State of Indiana, assembled in delegate convention, declare:

That national bank notes shall be retired, and in lieu thereof there shall be issued by the government an equal amount of treasury notes with full legal-tender quality. nder quality.

That we are in favor of making the United State That we are in layor of making the United States notes, commonly called greenbacks, a full legal-tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except such obligations only as are, by the terms of the original contracts under which they were issued, expressly payable in coin.

That the right to issue paper money, as well as coin, is the exclusive prerogative of the government, and such money should be issued in such amounts as the sound bushness interests of the country may from time to time require. An act providing for the indicial ascertainment of claims against the United States. claims against the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That any person who may have a claim against the United States of which the court of claims would not now have jurisdiction, but founded upon justice and equity, and not bound by any statute of limitations provided by any law of the United States, may file his bill in the court of claims of the United States, setting out the grounds of claim and the relief desired by him; and the attorney general of the United States shall appear and plead thereto as provided in other cases.

Sec. 2. Any issue of fact joined upon such a bid may be tried by the court as now provided for cases of which it has jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. The court shall find the facts appearing from the testimony before them in each case, and shall report their findings to congress, with their opinion as to the determination which should be made of such claim.

Sec. 4. Congress shall not consider, nor allow nor anthorize the payment of any private chaim not parable under existing laws until the same has been heard and reported to congress by said court of claims as herein provided. the sound business interests of the country may from time to time require.

We are in favor of such legislation by congress as will authorize the taxation by the Stales of the United States notes in common with all other money.

That we deem it unwiss and inexpedient to enact any further legislation for the funding of the national debt abroad, through the means of home syndicates or other methods; and we believe the true policy of the government and the best interests of the people would be subserved by legislation so as to distribute said debt among our people at home-afforcing them the most favorable and practical opportunity for the investment of their savings in the funded debt of the United States.

That we are in rayor of such legislation which shall fix the legal rate of interest at not exceeding six per cent. per annum.

That we are in favor of the inhibitance and unconlitional repeal of the resumption act.

These principles are traveling fast and far. They
are journeying wherever the tax-gatherer journeys.
They are carrying hope to laboring masses in the
crowded villages of New England, along her bright
water-courses, and in the midst of her dark place,
as well as upon the fertile plains and wide say or The interest of the American people in their financial legislation is comfined to no one measure. As long as they are indebted to their Federal and State governments, to counties, cities and corporations more than five thousand million dollars, and to each other in still greater sum, countiess issues will continue to rise. And the great paramount duty of the people of all parties in this connection is to see that no man is chosen for the public services the is known to be by writefully adjective except the is known to be by writefully adjective.

The question of economy in the public expendinges is the one which now claims our attention connection with a false and oppressive system of inance, there has been under Republican administration a most reckless extravagance in the use of The question of economy in the public expenditures is the one which now claims our attention. In connection with a false and oppressive system of finance, there has been under Republican administration a most reckless extravagance in the use of the money raised from the hard earnings of the people. In proof of this fact it is only necessary to make a few plain comparisons. The ordinary expenditures of the United States for war, navy, indian, civil and miscellaneous list, exclusive also of pensions, from the commencement of the government up to and including the fiscal year of 1861, the year the war broke out, embracing a period of eighty-two years, amounted to one billion five hundred and six million seven hundred and twenty six thousand one hundred and forty-six do lars. Passing by the extraorolnary expenditures during the war, and computing the public expenses for tengers from June 30, 1867, to June 30, 1876, inclusive, we find that they amounted, exclusive of the national debt, in terest thereon and pensions, to the sum of one billion five hundred and sevention thousand one hundred and twenty-eight million nine hundred and sevention thousand one hundred and the support of the senate of the United States during the elions which have been granted, or which shall commence from the date of death or discharge from the samction to this lightly with the late war of the rebellion which have been granted, or which shall commence from the date of death or discharge from the service of the United States during the close of the States during the pension of death or discussed in the state of death or discharge from the service of the United States during the elions, or which shall commence from the date of death or discharge from the service of the United States during the pension of the state of gapointment; the bill increasing the pension of a decayed the bill of the pension of the widow upon her remarks from June 30, 1867, to Jun lion five hundred and twenty-cigal families hundred and sevent-ten thousand one hundred and thirty-seven dollars; a sum greater by over twenty million during peace under Republican administrations than during eighty-two years before that party obtained power. If we estimate the expenditures of ten years under Democratic administrations from June 30, 1852, to June 30, 1861, we find the amount to be five hundred and twenty-seven million eight hundred and seventy-two thousand two hundred and sixty dollars; being nine hundred and fifty-six million forty-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven dollars less than the ten years of Republican administration already computed. A reliable exhibit on this subject is as follows:

Net Ordinary Expenditures of the United States, exclusive of Public Debt, Premiums, Interest and

science will remain as an ample reward for all my Principal, and exclusive also of Pensions, for ten A NEW THING UNDER THE BUN! Ten years of Radical rule, from June 30, 1867, to June 30, 1876, both fiscal years inclusive: War, \$593.629.479.43; navy, \$234.111.119.10; Indians, \$62.678.188.52; civil and miscellaneous, \$638.433.355.82. Total, \$1.828.917.137.77.

Ten years of Conservative rule, from June 30, 1852 to June 30, 1861, both fiscal years inclusive: War, \$169.232.248.55; navy, \$123.478.351.20; Indians, \$32.571.486.75; civil and miscellaneous, \$347.592.124.02. Total, \$572.872.250.52.

Increase in ten years of Radical rule over ten years of Conservativerule, same period: War, \$424.397.230.88; navy, \$110.694.767.90; Indians, \$36.106.696.77; civil and miscellaneous, \$366.849.181.80. Total, \$905.44.877.35.

This shows an increase of 197.59 per cent. for ten years since the war over ten years previous to the war. Taking as a basis the census of 1860, the cost per capita for the net ordinary expenditures above named for ten years before the war was eighteen dollars and twenty-one cents, while the net ordinary expenditures for the ten years since the war, on the basis of the census of 1870, was thirty-nine dollars and sixty-five cents. There are other facts, however, which was now more more overlaneous of souther facts, however, which was even more membrane of the rest period of the p In its effect-instantaneou In its colo lng 10 ser—matchles : In all its legro lents—veg table In 1 soperation—matural; In its beautifying results—enduring. CRISTADORO'S HAIR DY

appropriations made in similar bills, and for

report, however glowing and enticing it might have been. But when they showed the rich fruits which they had gathered—the gr-pes, the figs and the pomegranates—a weary, anxious people believed that the country before them was good, and they pressed forward to enjoy it. And so now the Demo-

ratic party does not come before you with mere promises of something in the ruture. It exhibits the fruits of its labors, and on them invites your con-

REBEL WAR CLAIMS. But it is charged now by our opponents that the public treasury is in imminent danger of bankrupter from the allowance by congress of what are denominated rebel war claims. A violent scare has been attempted on this subject. Some who are hon-

cannot be allowed, yet members of congress from the south have introduced claims for the payment of them in enormous amounts. As the readlest an-

go to Union claimants, scattered about in neariy all the southern States.

But the spirit and temper of the Democratic house of representatives on this whole question is best ul-justrated by the following act, which passed that body June 17, 1878:

of all arrears to pensioners, if Ilving and it case of death to their heirs. It also provides that "all pensions on account of death o wounds received or disease contracted in the service

pronounce: both by the Would or Scien is and World of Fashion, the finest preparation ever invented by art to rectify the short-co-vings of nature. Manufactured by J. Chistaldone No. 93 Williams street. New York. Sold by all druggists. Applied by all Hair Dressers. A CARD. To all who are suffering from the errors and indiscretions of youth, nervous weakness, carry decay, loss of manhood, etc., I will send a receipt that will and sixty-five cents. There are other facts, however, which are even more conclusive, if possible, than those already cited. The Democratic party has had a majority in the lower house of both the forty-fourth and forty-fifth congress. For the first time since 1861 that party is justly chargeable with a portion of the responsibilities of the government. Let us, therefore, compare its woras with those of its opponents. There are eleven great appropriation bills usually considered and passed by each succeeding congress. They embrace the expenditure of the public money for the following objects: The army, the navy, the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the government; the military academy, fortifications, consular and diplomatic service, the postoffice, pensions, Indians, river and harbor improvements, and sundry civil. By an examination and comparison of the official records it app ars that the appropriations made in these bills by Democratic houses for the years 1877, 1878 and 1879 show a reduction of \$88,270,233 47 under the appropriations made in similar bills, and for the and sixty-five cents. There are other facts, however cure you, FREE OF CHARGE. This great remedy was discovered by a nubslonary in South America. Send a self-addressed envelope to Rev. JONET T.

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As a show a reduction of \$88,270,235 47 under the appropriations made in similar bills, and for the same purposes, by Republican congresses for the years 1874, 1875 and 1870. The reductions were much greater when the bills originally passed the house, but the senate, in every instance, largely increased the sum appropriated, and the house was sometimes, in committee of conference, compelled to make concessions. These important facts, full of significance for the future, will not be successfully disputed. They are beyond the reach of controversy; they are embedded in the legislation of the country, and they appeal strongly to the people in behalf of those who have placed them here. Economy in public affairs was the cardinal doctrine of the Democratic party in the days of its greatest power, and it is encouraging to witness the exercise of the same great virtue as soon as it obtains even a partial control of the public mones. Such a record, made under a verse circumstances, with the senate and executive in opposition, will sustain those who made it against all assaults. An over-taxed people will readily yield their confidence to a party which furnises acts of relief rather than more empty professions. Had the guides sent ferward by Joshua to explure the Promised Land returned empty-handed, the Israelites would have distened with Impatience and distrust to their report, however glowing and enticing it might have been. But when they showed the rich furits which have been dosed, drugged and quacked. Pulver macher's Electric Belts effectually care preparature debillty, weakness and decay. Book and Journal, with information worth thousands, multist free, Address Property of the Galfands of the Communication of the Commu

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states, or by the convention of three-fourths thereof, as one of the other mode of ratification may be proposed by congress."

Here it will be seen that before an amendment can even be proposed to this sacred instrument, two-thirds of both houses of coogress, or the legislatures of two-thirds of the States shall agree in the movement; and when such amendment has been thus proposed it can only become a part of the constitution by the concurrence of the legislatures or conventions of three-fourths of the States. Do you fear such a popular enthustasm and up-heaval of public sentiment in favor of paying rebei war claims, or claims for emancipated slaves, as will carry twenty-nine States out of the thirty-light in favor of ratifying an amendment to that effect." Do you think there is a high probability of obtaining two-thirds of both branches of congress for such a measure? If there is a man in Indiana who sincerely entertains fears on this subject, he is a fit subject for pity and commisseration.

But it is urged that even admitting such claims cannot be allowed, ret members of congress from the south have lateral and the proposed claims. SANIORDS CHARTIE BARRIER OF CONSTITUTION OF CO

& BOWELD TANHOOD

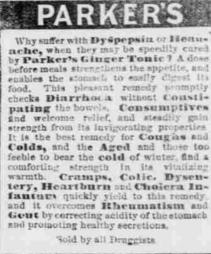
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